

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4904

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM
SUBJ: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF JUNE 17, 1977
(SALT TWO- 1230)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF JUNE 17, 1977.

SEMENOV STATEMENT, JUNE 17, 1977

THE QUESTION OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS
OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, WHICH CONCERN LIMITATIONS ON LAUNCHERS
OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, HAS BEEN UNDER DIS-
CUSSION BETWEEN THE DELEGATIONS FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME.

IN THE COURSE OF THIS WORK AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED
ON THE TEXT OF THE AGREED STATEMENT TO THAT PARAGRAPH OF
ARTICLE II ON THE DEFINITION OF REENTRY VEHICLES WHICH ARE
INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE.

IN ADDITION, BOTH SIDES HAVE EXPRESSED CONSIDERATIONS
WHICH MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS
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ON THIS MOST IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED
OUT.

THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY ANALYZED
BY THE SOVIET SIDE.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE RESULTS OF THE WORK ACCOMPLISHED,

THE USSR DELEGATION HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TO TABLE A SET OF PROPOSALS AIMED AT RESOLVING THE AFOREMENTIONED QUESTIONS.

THE SOLUTION BEING PROPOSED IS THE OVERALL RESULT OF PROLONGED JOINT EFFORTS AIMED AT REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE FORMULATIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, ON THE BASIS OF AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING.

I WILL READ THE TEXTS OF THESE PROPOSALS, WHICH ARE ALSO BEING HANDED TO YOU, MR. AMBASSADOR, IN WRITTEN FORM.

THE FOLLOWING WORDING IS PROPOSED FOR ARTICLE II, PAR. 5:

"PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE II

LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES (MIRVS) ARE ALL LAUNCHERS OF THE TYPES WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED, TESTED AND DEPLOYED FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS OR SLBMS WITH TWO OR MORE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES."

THE FOLLOWING AGREED STATEMENT IS PROPOSED IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE II, PAR. 5:

"AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE II

LAUNCHERS OF ONE TYPE, AS REFERRED TO IN PARAGRAPH 5

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OF ARTICLE II, ARE ALL SUCH LAUNCHERS WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED AND TESTED FOR LAUNCHING A CORRESPONDING SPECIFIC TYPE OF ICBM OR SLBM, EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS."

THIS TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE INTEREST EXPRESSED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN RECORDING WHICH MISSILES OF THE SIDES ON THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT ARE MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, AND WHICH MISSILES WOULD BE INCLUDED AMONG THEM IN THE FUTURE. IF MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE UNDERSTANDING IS REACHED ON THE WORDING OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, AND THE PROVISIONS RELATED THERETO, IN ADDITION TO THE DEFINITION OF LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, THE FOLLOWING AGREED STATEMENT IS PROPOSED:

"AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE II

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT ICBMS AND SLBMS OF TYPES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS CURRENTLY ARE: FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MINUTEMAN III ICBM AND POSEIDON CASE SLBM; FOR THE UNION OF

SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, TS-16, RS-18 AND RS-20 ICBMS,
AND RSM-50 SLBM; FOR BOTH PARTIES IN THE FUTURE, ALL
ICMBS AND SLBMS OF THE TYPES TESTED WITH MIRVS."

IN THIS CONNECTION, THE U.S. DESIGNATIONS SS-17, SS-19,
SS-18 AND SS-N-18 CORRESPOND TO SOVIET DESIGNATIONS RS-16,
RS-18, RS-20 AND RSM-50 (IN THE SAME ORDER).

THE USSR DELEGATION HAS TO EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THE
SOVIET SIDE'S WILLINGNESS TO COUNT AMONG MISSILES EQUIPPED
WITH MIRVS ALL MISSILES OF THE TYPES WHICH HAVE BEEN TESTED
WITH SUCH REENTRY VEHICLES, WAS AND REMAINS CONTINGENT
UPON FINDING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS FOR CRUISE MISSILES
AND THE OTHER UNAGREED QUESTIONS OF THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREE-
MENT, WHICH ARE BEING DISCUSSED AT OTHER LEVELS.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 4904

EXDIS USSALTTWO

THE PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET UNION TAKE INTO ACCOUNT
THE INTEREST EXPRESSED REPEATEDLY BY THE U.S. SIDE, IN USING
THE CONCEPT "TYPE" IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE WORDING OF
ARTICLE II, PAR. 5. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE MEANING OF THIS
CONCEPT PRECLUDES COUNTING, WITHIN THE ESTABLISHED 1,320
AGGREGATE LIMITATION, LAUNCHERS OF MISSILES WHICH ARE NOT
LAUNCHERS OF MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. AS YOU KNOW,
THE U.S. SIDE HAS REPEATEDLY SPOKEN IN FAVOR OF PRECLUDING
SUCH A POSSIBILITY.

THIS PROVIDES FOR ESTABLISHING A PRECISE ASSOCIATION,
RELIABLY VERIFIABLE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, BETWEEN A
LAUNCHER OF ONE TYPE AND THE CORRESPONDING SPECIFIC TYPE OF

ICBM OR SLBM, EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, FOR THE LAUNCHING OF WHICH SUCH A LAUNCHER HAS BEEN DEVELOPED AS TESTED.

THE PROPOSALS OF THE USSR ENSURE THAT, ON THE BASIS OF USING NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, IT CAN BE DETERMINED WHETHER DEPLOYED LAUNCHERS BELONG TO THAT TYPE OF LAUNCHER WHICH HAS BEEN DEVELOPED AND TESTED FOR LAUNCHING A CORRESPONDING SPECIFIC TYPE OF ICBM OR SLBM, EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

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THE SOVIET SIDE TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THAT IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THERE WAS DISCUSSION OF THE SPECIAL QUESTION OF DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN THE LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS AND THE LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS NOT EQUIPPED WITH SUCH REENTRY VEHICLES, WHICH ARE DEPLOYED IN THE DERAZHNYA AND PERVOMAYSK AREAS (USSR), AND AT THE MALMSTROM BASE (U.S.).

THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSES THAT THE QUESTION OF THE SITUATION IN THESE AREAS OF THE USSR AND THE U.S., WHICH, AS THE U.S. SIDE, TOO, HAS NOTED, IS UNIQUE, BE RESOLVED BY ADOPTING THE FOLLOWING SPECIAL AGREED STATEMENT:

"AGREED STATEMENT TO PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE II

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT AS OF THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT ... LAUNCHERS OF MINUTEMAN III ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS AND ... LAUNCHERS OF ANOTHER TYPE WITH ICBMS NOT EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS ARE DEPLOYED AT THE MALMSTROM ICBM LAUNCHER BASE (U.S.); 60 LAUNCHERS OF RS-18 ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS AND 120 LAUNCHERS OF ANOTHER TYPE WITH ICBMS NOT EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS ARE DEPLOYED IN THE DERAZHNYA AND PERVOMAYSK ICBM LAUNCHER AREAS (USSR)."

MR. AMBASSADOR,

THE PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET UNION, TABLED FOR ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, CONSTITUTE AN INTEGRAL WHOLE. IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE VI AND ALSO THE AGREED DEFINITION OF REENTRY VEHICLES WHICH ARE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE, ALREADY MENTIONED HERE, THEY PROVIDE AN OVERALL SOLUTION, ENCOMPASSING ALL THE NECESSARY ASPECTS, ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL ACCEPTABILITY, TO THE QUESTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION, CONCERNING LIMITATIONS ON LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

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THE USSR DELEGATION HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO CONDUCT, JOINTLY WITH THE U.S. DELEGATION, THE NECESSARY SPECIFIC WORK OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE WHOLE COMPLEX OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, FOR THE PURPOSE OF INCLUDING THEM IN THE JOINT DRAFT NEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THAT EXTENSIVE WORK HAS BEEN DONE TO CLARIFY THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE RANGE OF QUESTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION. OF COURSE, WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE U.S. DELEGATION, TOO, WILL TAKE THE SAME CONSTRUCTIVE AND BUSINESS-LIKE APPROACH. AS FOR INDIVIDUAL DETAILS WHICH MIGHT ARISE DURING THE PROCESS OF REACHING AGREEMENT, THEY SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT, WHICH ARE BEING WORKED OUT.

THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE PROPOSALS THE USSR HAS TABLE WILL BE REPORTED TO WASHINGTON AND CONSIDERED WITH ALL DUE ATTENTION.
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